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ART. VIII.—*Traits of Indian Character.* By COLONEL SYKES,  
M.P., *President of the Society.*

[*Read 16th April, 1859.*]

MUTABILITY.

IT is less my object in the present paper to give national characteristics than traits of individual character. To attempt the former with the twenty-one nations and twenty-one languages of India, and in the absence of trustworthy history, could only mislead, but with the latter, the richness of the field offers the assurance of a plentiful harvest. Nevertheless, as the twenty-one nations belong to the great family of man, there will necessarily be certain features common to them all, and I will give a running commentary upon such of these common features as occur to me. And, first, with respect to the long-received and constantly-repeated opinion of Western nations, of the immutability of the customs, habits, and opinions, whether religious or moral, of the nations of India; or at least of the Hindús. No doubt since the institution of caste, classes of men have been fettered and confined within certain rules, prescribing to them not only modes of action, but modes of thought. Nevertheless, we find that natural impulses, by leading to the irregular intercourse of the sexes, have broken down these conventional barriers, and that state of society which comprised only four great divisions, Brahman, Rajpút, Vaisya, and Sudra, has ramified into scores of castes, each with its own exclusiveness, its own habits, its own polemics, and its own inter-marriage limitations. Here has been ceaseless change, and ceaselessly is it going on. Moreover, anterior to the institution of caste, and before the establishment of Christianity, we have glimpses of the Indian social state, and for these glimpses we are indebted to the profound learning and indefatigable labours of our Director, Professor Wilson, and to the researches in Buddhist and Pali literature of the late Honourable Mr. Turnour, of the Ceylon Civil Service. The former has translated for us four Ashtakas, or one-half of the Rig Veda, the most ancient of the sacred books of the Hindús, and

the latter has translated the Mahawanso, the Dipawanso, and the sermons and discourses of Buddha. The Rig Veda comprises a series of hymns, addressed not to a supreme Being, a self-existent and constantly disposing cause, but to various personifications of the elements and heavenly bodies, chiefly the firmament and fire; then the winds, the personified dawn, the sun, the sons of the sun, the Viswadevas, or collective deities, and the divinities of food, water, and grass in the abstract; but nowhere does there appear to have been idols or worship of material objects. Temples there were none; the worship was domestic. Brahmans are mentioned, but are not named as the appointed or exclusive singers or reciters of the hymns of the Rig Veda. Priests were not necessarily Brahmans, and the head of the family would seem to have had whatever ritual was required, performed in his own house. The Hindú Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, have no place; the Linga or Phallus is unmentioned; Caste unnoticed; cows were eaten; cow-hides used in sacrificial ritual; in short, modern Brahmanism has no prototype in the Rig Veda; but Professor Wilson justly says, that its chief value is in "illustrating the most ancient Hindu system of religious worship and social organization, and the opinions of primitive Hinduism. How prodigious then the changes which we find must have taken place amongst the so-called immutable Hindus!" But who were the Hindús? Professor Wilson says, "The earliest seat of the Hindus within the area of Hindustan was undoubtedly the Eastern confines of the Punjab; the holy land of Menu and the Puranas lies between the Drishadwati and Saraswati rivers; the Caygar and Sursooty of our barbarous maps." The tract of land thus assigned for the first establishment of Hinduism in India, is of very circumscribed extent and could not have been the site of a nation or of several tribes. Whatever the date of the settlement, Fa-hien, in the first years of the fifth century, says he found a people of heretics (that is to say, not Buddhists,) between the Indus and the Jumna, having previously said that the Brahmans were a tribe; the first amongst the tribes of barbarians, meaning strangers. And this is corroborated by Bishop Musæu and Scholasticus. But India was densely peopled at the time of Fa-hien's visit, and if the nidus of the Hindus was still in the Punjab, who were the other peoples of India? Buddhism then flourished from the Himalayas to Ceylon, but Hinduism has now engrafted itself upon the twenty-one nations and languages of India. How then has this change come about, and what becomes of the immutability of the Hindús?

Admitting, however, that the followers of the Rig Veda had diffused themselves so far south as the Vindya range,—limits which the Vishnú Purana of the twelfth century seems to indicate,—at the advent of Buddha in the seventh century B.C., the present deities of the Hindu Pantheon were unknown; we find that not only a new ritual, but new gods have been adopted, though the germs of both may be traceable to the Rig Veda. It will necessarily be asked, what led Buddha to the promulgation of doctrines which, in a comparatively short period, would seem to have almost extinguished the Vedic system, but which doctrines, nevertheless, were so unstable and uncertain, that at Buddha's death, 543 B.C., the first Buddhist convocation to fix the tenets of Buddhism in the Pitakattaya, took place at Rajgriha, and the convocation found it had to deal with no less than sixty-two heterodox sects. Heresy, however, progressed, and two other convocations were necessary<sup>1</sup>. Considering that the fundamental doctrine of the Buddhists is the belief in the metempsychosis, the promulgation of this doctrine struck directly at a great feature of ancient ritual—animal sacrifices. The idea that the great First Cause could be propitiated by the sprinkling of blood, and burning flesh upon an altar, is coeval with the existence of man. Cain and Abel are the first on record to have made this sacrifice, and because one offering was supposed to be acceptable to God, and the other not, Cain slew his brother in envy. We see it continued in Abraham's offer, even of his son. We read of its institution, commanded by Moses in the 1st chapter of Leviticus as a daily duty of the Jews. We observe a remarkable illustration of it in Elijah's sacrifice, narrated in the 18th chapter, 1st Kings, and to this day Abraham's sacrifice is commemorated in the Buckra Eed of the Mahomedans. The Canaanites sacrificed hecatombs of oxen, and so strong was the belief in the efficacy of offering blood and flesh to the Divinity, that the ties of nature were set aside, and children were offered to Moloch. (Leviticus xviii. 21.) The Carthaginians offered men, and some traces of human sacrifices are met with in the Rig Veda, and its prevalence through all times, in one part of India, is attested by the Meriah sacrifices of the Khonds, which the British Government has so energetically and humanely endeavoured recently to suppress. The usual offering or sacrifice mentioned in the Rig Veda is the Soma Juice; the great sacrifice of the horse, however, is mentioned, and the ceremonial prescribed; and that animal sacrifices must have gradually grown up is manifest

<sup>1</sup> The second, 443 B.C., and third was 308 B.C.

by the horror expressed by Buddha in his discourses at the blood shed by the Vedists in their ritual; and as all religious as well as social reforms originate in the revulsion of certain sensitive and speculative minds from certain rituals or social usages, it may not be unreasonable to believe that the great reform of Buddha, whose followers at this day outnumber those of any other creed, was caused by the blood shed in India in animal sacrifices. Whether his making it sinful to destroy animal life was consequent upon his adoption of the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, or whether the metempsychosis was invented to spare animal life, admits of argument.

The interdict, although now practically disregarded by the Buddhists in all parts of the world, is reverently obeyed by the Jain heretical offshoot of Buddhism in India, the only remnant, in fact, of Buddhism; and we see the Jain priest, with bare head, white robe, with one shoulder naked, with a muslin veil over the mouth to prevent the ingress and destruction of insect life, solemnly promenading the thoroughfares with a black rod in one hand and a fan in the other, with which he fans the spot upon which he proposes to sit down, lest he should destroy any creature having life.

The reverence for Buddha's injunction is also manifested by the existence in Western India of hospitals, called Pinjrapol, not only for sick animals, but for all other animals, whose lives the supporters of the hospitals desire to preserve; and laughable but doubtless groundless stories are told of human beings allowing themselves to be hired to sleep in these hospitals to give the common bed bug (*Cimex lectularius*,) a comfortable meal at night! The Chinese Buddhists, though they do not give any practical effect to Buddha's injunction, yet admit the sin of its breach. In an account of the largest Buddhist temple at Canton, called the Ching Kwang Meon, in the China Mail of the 6th January last, visitors are shown pictures of the punishments in the different hells, and in one hell those are tortured who have taken the life of any living being. But to return to Buddha's great reform: at his death, 543 B.C., a convocation took place to fix his doctrines in the Pali work, the Pitakattaya, and it was found they had to deal with sixty-two heresies. One hundred years later another convocation was necessary, and in 308 B.C. another; and notwithstanding the heresies the religion spread, and at the end of the fourth century and beginning of the fifth century, the Chinese traveller Fa-hien, who was fourteen years in India, found Buddhism covering the land from Peshawur to Cape Comorin, and from Guzrat to Orissa. Never-

theless, in the seventh century Hiunantsang found Buddhism rapidly declining; its crushing monastic system had broken it down, its doctrines were perverted, the morals of the people corrupted, and Hiunantsang says the Buddhists were scarcely distinguishable from the barbarians amongst whom they lived; that is to say, the followers of Siva and Vishnu, who not discoverable in the Rig Veda, had been ushered into notice and veneration, together with the lamentable system of caste, under the fostering care of the Brahmans, who were step by step assuming influence, importance, and exclusiveness. But, like the Vedic and Buddhist systems, the Brahmanism of the early and subsequent centuries of the Christian era was subject to its heresies. Professor Wilson, in the 16th and 17th volumes of the Asiatic Researches, has given an account of no less than fifty-two Hindú sects or heresies, viz., twenty Vaishnava sects, nine Siva, four Sakta, seven subdivisions of Seiks, who originated with Nanak Shah and Gúrú Govind, ten miscellaneous sects, and two Jains. Mahomedanism too, as is well known, has its Shiahs and Súnis, its sophists and mystics; but I need not multiply these proofs to establish the fact, that in religious impressions and social usages, a trait of Indian character is certainly mutability, and not immutability.

#### DEVOTIONAL SENTIMENT.

A trait of Indian character is the intensity of "devotional sentiment." If we survey the rock-cut temples and sthupas of India, and monastic refectories and cells, we are struck with amazement at their prodigious magnitude, prodigious number, marvellous display of varied taste, and the amount of continuous labour bestowed upon their excavation through centuries of time; first, those of the Buddhists, divided into those excavated in the rock and buildings designated sthupas and topes; the Chinese travellers speak of sthupas seven hundred feet high, nearly twice the height of St. Paul's. These have disappeared; but many specimens of topes remain, a remarkable illustrative gigantic specimen of which exists to this day at Bilsa in Bopal. These topes or dhagopes were relic tombs. Associated also with the Buddhist excavations, first in order of time are those of the Jains, probably of the date of the early Christian centuries; then those dedicated to Siva, none of which have been proved to be earlier than the seventh century.

In my published account of the caves of Ellora I gave the measurements of the several excavations, and one of them, the Siva Temple of

Kylas, may well be considered a wonder of the world. A mountain of trap rock is carved into a temple, and sculptured externally with thousands and tens of thousands of figures of men and animals: the temple stands in the midst of a great excavated area, round which run cloisters, with panels in their walls, representing the avatars or incarnations of Siva and Vishnu.

The Hindus of Southern India in comparatively modern times have equally manifested the devotional sentiment in their colossal pagodas, such as those of Seringham, Conjeveram, and others. The Mahomedans also have shown it in their multitudinous and magnificent mosques and mausolea. In personal illustrations we find it in self-sacrifice and immolation. Calamus burnt himself on the funeral pile; some of Buddha's followers who had attained the sanctity of Bodhisatwa did the same; the Hindu devotee still buries himself alive in a sitting posture; the aged but feeble, while still living, permit themselves to be exposed on the banks of a sacred stream to die of starvation, or to be devoured by wild beasts. The Sati still immolates herself in native states not under British control, upon the funeral pile of her husband's body; and a remarkable anecdote is told by Sir John Malcolm of Alla Baco, the widow of Holkar and Regent of Indore, a woman of vigorous intellect and enlarged views. She declined to burn herself with her husband's body, but she so much respected the devotional sentiment that when her son-in-law died and his child-wife, her own daughter, resolved to become Sati, she did not consider herself at liberty to interfere with the self-sacrifice, and witnessed it. Again, the infatuated devotee throws himself under the wheels of the ponderous car of Juggernath, and is crushed, as he thinks, into heaven. I have fallen in with many poor people, male and female, in fulfilment of vows measuring their length for many miles, along a road to a celebrated temple; I have seen many unhappy creatures with an arm held above the head until the nails have grown through the back of the hand, and the limb has become a fixture for life, withered to the bone, in fulfilment of a vow. Annually at the Churruck Pooja festival, in fulfilment of vows, men have a hook inserted into the muscles below the shoulder-blade, and are swung round the head of a tall pole.

I have already spoken of the Moriah sacrifice, the result of a false, but still devotional sentiment. The Mahomedans equally manifest it. At the celebration of the Maharum many work themselves up into a state of devotional frenzy, and cut themselves with knives, and the Ghazee is at all times ready to rush upon the infidel that he may

either kill or be killed, and in either case insure for himself the blissful abodes of the Houries ; finally, the late lamentable mutiny and its consequences, are chiefly attributable to reckless and unjustifiable resentment at a supposed intended outrage upon a religious belief, for the maintenance of which the Hindú is always ready to die. A remarkable declaration to this effect, is by one of the thirty faithful troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry, sent to Umballa after the mutiny, from Meerut, who said to Lieutenant Martineau, the *Depôt Adjutant* at Umballa, in conversation, "We have followed the standards of our regiment through the snows of Afghanistan ; on the plains of the Punjab ; and wherever we have been ordered, and are ready at any time to shed our blood, or lay down our lives for the Sirkar (Government), but we thought we were told, and we believed that the Sirkar wanted to take away our religion ; and without our creed and our caste, what is life, Sahib ? 'isse jena marna behtur.' It is better to be killed."

This belief is attested by the letter of the Begum of Oude, addressed to Jung Bahadoor, dated 2nd February, 1859, in which she says "moreover the British have attempted to destroy the faith and religion of the people of India, which attempt has caused this great outbreak and mutiny."

Proofs of a genuine religious panic amongst the sepoys of the late Bengal army are daily accumulating ; and many of them are already furnished in the voluminous papers upon the mutiny laid before Parliament.

I need not go further ; the various illustrations which I have furnished above, sufficiently authorize me to maintain that "Devotional Sentiment" is a trait of Indian character.

I come now to the Point of Honour as a trait.

In 1764.—The 2-12th, or Lall Pultun of the Bengal army, which was at the battle of Plassy, mutinied in February, at Saut, imprisoned their officers, but released them and then went off. The reason alleged was that promises to them about prize-money were broken. The European Marines and Trevanion's Sepoy Battalion went in pursuit and brought the regiment back. Major Munro, who commanded the force in the field, ordered twenty-eight sepoys to be picked out and tried by drum-head court-martial ; the whole were sentenced to death. The eight guns with the detachment being brought out, the first eight sepoys were fixed to their muzzles and blown away. Here it was that three of the *grenadiers* entreated to be fastened to the guns on the right, declaring that as they always fought on the right, they hoped that their last request would be complied with, by being



suffered to die in the post of honour. Their petition was granted, and they were the first executed. I am sure (says Captain Williamson) there was not a dry eye amongst the marines who witnessed the execution, although they had long been accustomed to hard service, and two of them had actually been on the execution party that shot Admiral Byng in 1757. The other twenty sepoy were similarly executed at the other stations of the army (page 171).

General Briggs relates that at the siege of Bhurtpoor, in 1805, after the repulse of four assaults, and a fifth was ordered, an orderly havildar, on duty with Lord Lake, asked permission to join his regiment on that day; at first, he was refused, but being urgent he was allowed to go, telling Lord Lake, "the Sahib will never see my face again unless we succeed." The regiment got a footing on the rampart, but being unsupported, was obliged to retire. The havildar alone stood his ground, and was deaf to the entreaties of his comrades to come away; saying "Tell Lord Lake where you left me." He was seen at the top of the breach loading a musket, until he was shot down and then cut to pieces (page 45), *Briggs's Letters*.

In one of the assaults upon Bhurtpoor after the failure of several; the Second Battalion of the Twelfth Native Infantry moved out of the trenches, when a European regiment declined, on the ground of the breach not being practicable, and Lord Lake issued the following order:—

"Notwithstanding the distinguished and persevering gallantry displayed by the troops in the assault yesterday, and that the colours of the 2-12th were three times planted on the top of the bastion, the obstacles were such as not to be surmounted."

On that occasion, when a retreat was ordered, it was with great difficulty the men could be prevailed upon to withdraw, they yielded at length to the reiterated orders of their officers, after having repeatedly exclaimed "We must take the place or die here." Too fully was their determination verified, for in several of the corps employed, more than half of their number were either killed or wounded. Could any troops of any army in the world have acted more nobly or more devotedly in maintenance of the point of honour?

Amongst the Rajpûts it is not unusual to refuse to surrender to an enemy; but at the last extremity to rush sword in hand upon him and die to a man. Numerous instances of this kind took place in the wars, between the Rajpût States and the Muhomedans of Delhi; but a remarkable instance of it occurred within my own knowledge. The Rajpût Chief of Chaiya in Kattewar, a tributary of the Gaikwar was in open rebellion, and the British in compliance with treaty engage-

ments were called upon to reduce him to obedience. A force, therefore, in 1812, with a siege train sat down before the Raja's fort, trenches were opened, a battery planted, and a breach soon made. The artillery officers were the late Colonel Hardy and Lieutenant-General Manson, who was wounded. Preparatory to the storm the chief was invited to surrender, instead of which he and his garrison, cut the throats of their wives and children, threw their bodies into the wells, threw off their turbands, let loose the lock of hair upon the crown of their heads, indicative of their abandonment of the world, and then rushed sword in hand, through the breach upon the trenches. Great confusion ensued, but it ended in every Rajpút losing his life, and the besiegers dashed into the fort. The dreadful scene which met their view appalled them; the bodies of the women and children were immediately pulled from the wells; but death had done his work; there was an exception however, the Rancee or Princess was still alive, although apparently dying. She had a massive gold bangle upon her ankle. The officer who saw her, in the agitation of the moment, leaving her as he thought safe, went to other wells; but, on his return, found the princess dead; the foot had been removed, and the gold bangle gone. The commanding officer, shocked and highly incensed, offered a reward for the discovery of the perpetrator. The scoundrel's secret was kept and the force broke up. Some time afterwards a force sat down before the fort of Nowanuggur in Kattewar. A battery was opened; a single cannon-shot was fired from the fort as a point of honour before capitulation: that shot killed a European artilleryman in our battery, and another European artilleryman was overheard to mutter to himself—"Served him right for cutting off the Rancee's foot at Chaiya." Was not this retributive justice?

In 1813, the fort of Entouree, in Bhagilkind, was stormed by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, and the garrison made a most desperate resistance. An officer present said, "the garrison consisted of 150 men; they fought in the breach for an hour and a quarter like tigers. When the place was nearly carried the enemy set fire to it in several places, making the whole a sheet of fire; they still kept fighting in the midst of flames, till the chief blew himself up. This was a hard day's work, we were under arms, marching, breaching, and storming upwards of twenty hours, not many of the garrison escaped; a few of the wounded survived, and shewed us the remains of their chief, who died for the point of honour." Sensitiveness with regard to ridicule has occasionally fatal consequences. In my own regiment a sepoy blew out his brains because his wife in a quarrel publicly applied epithets to him which exposed

him to be mocked. At another time, on the line of march in 1818, the men, from want of carriage, being compelled to carry their heavy knapsacks, a Rajpút sepoy of my regiment, indignant at what he called being made a beast of burthen, quietly loaded his musket and shot himself.

I now approach another trait :

#### SELF-SACRIFICE AND FIDELITY.

Orme in his narrative of the celebrated defence of Arcot<sup>1</sup>, in 1751, by Captain Clive, mentions two anecdotes honourable to the native character. In one of the assaults of the enemy upon the forts in which they failed, their commander fell in the fausse-braye of the northern breach. He had distinguished himself with great bravery in the attack, and was so much beloved by his troops that one of them crossed the ditch and carried off his body, exposing himself during the attempt to the fire of forty muskets, from which he had the good fortune to escape.

The other anecdote is of touching interest. The siege had continued fifty days; the sufferings and privations of the small garrison, European and Native, had been frightful. Orme says : " I have it in my power, from authority I cannot doubt, to add to the account of this celebrated siege, an anecdote singularly illustrative of the character of the native troops of India. When provisions became so scarce that there was a fear that famine might compel them to surrender, the sepoys proposed to Clive to limit them to the water (kunjee) in which the rice was boiled, 'It is,' they said, 'sufficient for our support—the Europeans require the grain.'"

Occasional instances of a singular fraternization of native with European regiments, militating against the caste exclusiveness of the sepoys, brighten the pages of Indian military history. At Jellalabad, under the gallant Sale, when the garrison was besieged and in a state of starvation, sallies were made to capture sheep grazing on the neighbouring hills. A portion of the products of these forays was always allotted to the sepoys, but they, with laudable self-sacrifice, said "animal food is not absolutely necessary for our sustenance, with our habits of life, but animal food is absolutely necessary for the Europeans; we beg therefore you will give the share of the sheep allotted to us to the Europeans," Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry and the Artillery; and this was done by the Bengal Regiment, the 35th. Afterwards, when Her Majesty's 13th passed the station

<sup>1</sup> Orme, vol. i, pp. 183-196.

where the 35th was cantoned in the North-Western Provinces, the latter gave the Europeans a grand entertainment. The 35th was not amongst the late mutinous regiments, but was disarmed.

In 1785, a large portion of the Bengal army had their fidelity and duty as soldiers put to the severest test during the revolt of Cheyt Sing, suffering from arrears of pay, and want of provisions; for such was the loss of credit of the Government at that time that, as stated by Mr. Hastings, no money could be raised, and the sepoy were being employed against their connexions and friends in the heart of their own country; nevertheless they remained true to their salt. The troops so tried were the 1st and 2nd Battalions, 6th and 7th Regiments, the 19th, the 30th, and the 35th Regiments.

At the close of 1782, the 4th, 15th, 17th, and 35th Regiments, which were at Barrackpore, were ordered for foreign service; they declined to go by sea, and the Government had no power to compel them. They were civil to their officers, and duty was carried on as usual, and no attempt was made to release some native officers and ringleaders, confined in the respective quarter-guards. After some weeks two subadars of the 15th, and one or two sepoy, were tried by court-martial and sentenced to death, and were blown away from guns in the presence of all the regiments that had mutinied, and one other regiment. These regiments were pardoned in General Orders, and went with Goddard to Bombay, and did not return until 1784, and were then amalgamated with other regiments on a reduction taking place; they had not taken the lives of their officers, and had submitted to the necessary punishment for mutiny, because their animosity had not been raised upon a religious matter.

When on the capture of Bednore, General Matthews and his whole force surrendered to Tippoo Sultan, every inducement was offered to tempt the sepoy to enter the Sultan's service, but in vain. During the march they were carefully separated from the European prisoners at each place of encampment, by a tank or other obstacle, supposed to be insurmountable. It did not prove so, however, for one of the captive officers subsequently declared, that not a single night elapsed but some of the sepoy contrived to elude the vigilance of the guards by swimming the tanks, frequently some miles in circumference, or eluding the sentries, bringing with them such small sums as they could save from the pittance allowed by the Sultan for their own support, in return for hard daily labour, to eke out the scanty food of the Europeans. "We can live upon any thing," they said, "but you require mutton and beef<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Malcolm's Government of India, page 210.

Malcolm relates an analogous anecdote of the sepoys when he was serving in the Deccan. The Nizam's troops had plundered a village and left the inhabitants to starve : Malcolm's regiment had to send a guard to the village, which was relieved daily, and the men of the guard made a collection of as much rice as they and their confederates could spare, which they took to the starving villagers for distribution.—*Life by Kay*, vol. i, page 22.

In 1803, after the battle of Laswarrie, such was the amount of wounded and sick, that the hospital establishment was insufficient, and the sepoys were asked themselves to carry their wounded and sick comrades, which they did cheerfully on the line of march.

In 1804, in Monson's disastrous retreat, Holkar left no means or offers untried through the medium of intrigue, to induce the sepoys to swerve from their allegiance and fidelity; and notwithstanding their dreadful sufferings and the threats of vengeance, and the knowledge that those who fell into Holkar's hands and refused to serve, had their noses and right hands cut off, there were few desertions. A surgeon and some European artillerymen, who fell into Holkar's hands, had their brains knocked out by wooden mallets in his presence.

The regiment I had the good fortune to command at the battle of Kirkee in November, 1817, was attempted to be tampered with by the Peshwa's agents offering large sums of money. The overtures were immediately communicated to me, and under instructions from Major Ford, the Brigadier, and Mr. Elphinstone, my informant, a native officer, and two or three sepoys were directed to dissemble and carry on a communication with the enemy, by which we were not only able to seize the parties but obtain valuable information. The regiment was chiefly composed of Oude Brahmans and Rajpûts, and good class Mussulmans and some Mahrattas.

The following is a copy of a letter from a friend :—

“Kandesh, February, 1858.

“I arrived in Bombay the beginning of September, and my regiment returned from Persia the end of that month. Rumours affecting its loyalty preceded it, but I am happy to say it has proved itself, by courage and good conduct, the excellent regiment it has always been. The late Sir Henry Havelock, and there could not be a superior judge, admired the 26th Bombay Infantry highly, and gave them no end of praise. The Europeans of Her Majesty's 78th fraternized with the men of the 26th, and used to call them the black Cameronians. Almost immediately on arrival in Bombay, the regiment was ordered

on field service against the Bheels who had risen in insurrection in the Deccan and Kandesh. From the nature of the country, which is hilly, thick with jungle, and intersected with ravines, it is very difficult to get up with the Bheels; but on each occasion they have been severely handled and the bands dispersed. The 26th exhibited the most lively interest in the safety of their officers; one, a Brahman, even tried to screen me with his person when the balls were flying past; and on another occasion a Mahratta sepoy *observing one of the enemy taking deliberate aim at his captain, stepped in front of him and received the shot in his own body.* I am happy to say that a vacancy which occurred at the time enabled me to promote the man at once. The excellent feeling exhibited by the men towards their European officers was not confined to individuals, but was shared in by the whole body, and the abuse levelled at the sepoys by the Bheels for not deserting us was unbounded."

Several regiments of the Bombay army, both cavalry and infantry, have done, and are now doing, good service against the mutineers.

Extract from a letter:—

"It may interest you to know that my son left Umritsir on 18th September, 1857, desiring his servants to follow him, but, in consequence of the rapidity of his movements, they never overtook him, and after wandering about from September till June, they appeared in Delhi, and delivered up, safe, his horse, baggage, and books to his brother. My son had got compensation for his supposed loss, but on hearing that his things were all preserved, the money was repaid.

"Colonel Sykes."

Instances therefore are not wanting of fidelity.

#### PERSONAL ATTACHMENT.

Colonel Goddard's force, on the second day's march from Calpee, on the 12th June, 1778, lost Captain James Crawford, who commanded the 4th Battalion. He was considered by the men as a rigid, and perhaps severe, disciplinarian; yet he so happily blended with the strictest principles of military discipline and arrangement the practice of the most inflexible integrity and impartial justice in the exercise of his authority, combined with considerate indulgence in regard to the religious habits, the customs, and prejudices of his men, that it may be with truth affirmed, he had the good fortune to verify what ought to be the emulation and object of every military man, with

regard to those under his command, the enviable distinction of commanding their lives through the medium of their affections.

The force was detained for some days, owing to bad weather and waiting for stores from Cawnpoor. The men went from time to time to Crawford's grave to render their tribute of grateful attachment and affection by making their obeisance after the manner of their country ; and on the day the force was ordered to march, the grateful and sorrowing 4th Battalion, or Crawford's as it was called, after it had been told off preparatory to the march, requested leave to pile arms and to be permitted collectively to go and express their last benedictory farewell over the remains of their respected commander, protector, and friend<sup>1</sup>.

Sir John Malcolm says that the discipline and subordination of the sepoys depended upon the personal influence of their commanding officer, upon confidence in his skill, and affection for his person ; this influence could even surmount caste prejudices. Embarkation by sea for foreign service has on more than one occasion caused a mutiny ; but a remarkable instance of the power of personal influence is mentioned by Sir John Malcolm in the case of Lieutenant-Colonel James Oram, who commanded a battalion of the 22nd Madras Infantry. In 1797, he proposed to his regiment upon parade to volunteer for an expedition then preparing for Manilla ; " Will he go with us ? " was the question which went through the ranks ; " Yes ! " " Will he stay with us ? " " Yes ! " and the whole corps exclaimed " To Europe, to Europe ! " They were ready to follow Colonel Oram anywhere, to the shores of the Atlantic as cheerfully as to an island of the Eastern Ocean. Now mark what follows. Such was the contagion of their enthusiasm, that several sepoys who were missing from one of the battalions in garrison at Madras, were found to have deserted to join the expedition. It would have been happy, when on two occasions fire was opened on regiments at Barrackpore for disobeying orders to embark, that the commanding officers had been the counterpart of James Oram.

Major F. W. Follett, in command of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, while the regiment was on its march from Ahmednugger to Asseerghur, was taken ill during the night of the 20th July, 1857, in the encampment on the Poorna River. At 1 A.M. when the drums beat to strike the tents, he told Major Robertson, who shared his tent with him, that he had been ill, with cholera symptoms, and during the march he was obliged to be carried in a dooly. He died at 9½ P.M. the same day at the next encamping ground. Major Robert-

<sup>1</sup> Williams' Bengal Army, page 251.

son had the body carried on the next march to Antoorlee, where it was buried. Major Follett was a strict disciplinarian, but a just man, and the men must have equally loved and respected him; for Brahman and Rajpút sepoy, contrary to their prejudice and caste exclusiveness, took the body out of the dooly, let it down into the grave, descended into the grave, laid out the body, and then filled in the earth, though by doing so they became polluted, and had to perform certain religious ceremonies for their purification. Some of the European officers in the afternoon were collecting stones to pile upon the grave, when the sepoy, seeing them so engaged, rushed out of their tents and speedily completed a tumulus over the grave<sup>1</sup>. Considering that fully one-half of the men of the 25th Regiment consisted of the same class as the Bengal mutineers, it is assuring to find that a fanatic religious resentment not only has its limits, but that its spread may be arrested by European personal influence, even at the present day.

On the 12th February, 1850, some non-commissioned officers and sepoy sacrificed their lives near Kohat, to recover the body of their young officer, Ensign Sitwell, who had fallen gloriously while charging the enemy.

#### GRATITUDE.

When I was employed as Statistical Reporter to the Government of Bombay, my duties usually kept me in the districts, leading a camp life for eight months of the year. In March, 1830, two poor ryot cultivators were brought to my little camp who had been dangerously bitten and lacerated by a panther in driving the animal off from an attack upon their flocks. I did my best for the poor people, dressing their wounds daily and letting them remain with me until their wounds were healed. In the end of April I dismissed them to their village in the Júnir pergunnah, not expecting to see or hear more of them. Towards the end of May I moved towards Poona for Monsoon quarters, and, on the march, one day, was surprised to recognize, standing by the road side, the two ryots whose wounds had been healed. They had heard of my movements, and had crossed the country from their village, ten miles distant, to offer to me pots of honey and fresh

<sup>1</sup> The regimental order issued by Major Robertson on the occasion of the death, contained the following passage: "In these troublous times, when the "behaviour of a great portion of the Bengal Army has rendered it infamous, it "could not but have been gratifying to the British officers, present at the funeral, "to witness the manifest grief with which the highest caste Brahmans and others of "the regiment, crowded to assist in placing the body of their late commander in "the grave."



butter and milk, spontaneous offerings in testimony of their gratitude for the service I had rendered them.

#### HUMANITY.

It is gladdening to have an instance of humanity in the horrors of the mutiny.

When the mutiny broke out at Gwalior amongst Scindia's Contingent, the Adjutant of a regiment, Lieutenant ———, hastily mounted his horse and galloped down to the parade ; he was received with a volley of musketry, his horse shot, and, in extricating himself from the stirrups, one of his boots was drawn off, four sepoy's rushed upon him, pinioned him, and conveying him out of the cantonment, took him across the river, and giving him a blanket, told him to save his life and make the best of his way to Agra. He had left his wife sick in bed, and he told the sepoy's that nothing on earth would induce him to go without her, and that he must go back ; the men remonstrated, but without effect, and said his life must be sacrificed. At last, two of the sepoy's said they would go and bring his wife ; after some time they reappeared, helping along the poor creature, who was very feeble. On joining her husband, there were not any means of getting her on further, and Lieutenant ——— begged of the sepoy's to shoot them both ; instead of doing so, they made a hammock of the blanket, slung it to one of their muskets, and carried her for some miles, until they were out of reach of the mutineers. The sepoy's then left them, and they ultimately got to a place of safety.

Extract from a letter :—

"I cannot pass away from the late scenes of excitement and death without paying a tribute to the exalted tone of the sepoy's of the 25th Regiment, and this becomes more prominent, considering the troublous times in which we were playing the grand game of hold-fast against such hordes of enemies. During the heat of the battle of the 23rd, the sepoy's of the 25th Regiment suffered considerably. They came into the field-hospital suffering from every description of wounds, arms and legs shattered by round shot, limbs and body perforated by musket-bullets, and flesh wounds of no slight nature. To see these men as they sat or lay down in the burning sun enduring all the excruciating agonies their wounds had caused them, while the surgeons were busy with others who had preceded them, was truly noble. The general observation made by them was 'Ah ! well, never mind, we have eaten the Sircar's salt for many years, this has been good work, and the Sircar will be good

and take care of us, or our families if we die.' One poor fellow, whose blood was issuing profusely from a wound near the shoulder-joint, was offered a little brandy-and-water as a stimulant, when he nobly said, 'Give it to my brother first,' who sat next to him groaning in agony. He then drank, and said 'he did not mind his wound, for he knew Government would not forget him.' Not a man refused to take what was offered to him as drink, even the all-shunned wine was willingly accepted by them; and when an amputation was performed, they bore it with heroic fortitude, for although chloroform was not administered, scarcely a groan escaped, while the dreadful knife was severing the member from the body. In action they were cool, gallant, and intrepid; under the painful ordeal of the surgical operation they displayed patience, cheerfulness and fortitude.<sup>1</sup>"

As a sequel to the cases of military self-sacrifice, and as an instance in civil life of indifference to consequences and also of domestic attachment, Mr. Holt Mackenzie mentioned to me the case of a brother sentenced to a comparatively slight punishment, for being accessory to a fray attended with homicide, who, by a pious fraud, endeavoured to get himself hanged, and very nearly succeeded, in the room of an elder brother, who had been condemned to death, the one having a family, the other none. Such a case, Mr. Mackenzie says, is not probably to be found in our Newgate Calendar.

#### CHARITABLE SENTIMENT.

There is no Poor Law in India, and there never has been one: it has never been obligatory to feed the hungry and clothe the naked; poor and destitute there must be amongst 200,000,000 of souls, even in the most fruitful land and the most prosperous state of society. How much more so, then, amidst the famines, pestilences, and devastations of ceaseless war to which India has been subjected. The question has its solution in the universal sentiment of charity which is inculcated both by precept and example in all grades of society. From the institution of Buddhism, six centuries before Christ, down to the present day, all members of the ecclesiastical body, wherever Buddhists exist, are obliged, with a small basin in their hands, to solicit their daily meal of food, begging from door to door, as the mendicant friars of Italy and Spain do to this day. Beggars in India are not so subject to severe rebuffs as in Europe; they rarely appeal in vain for alms, indeed, they ask with confidence, if not with insolence, knowing

<sup>1</sup> Extract from a letter from an officer after the battle near Mundesore in Rapûtana, fought 23rd November, 1858.

the devotional sentiment which inculcates the gift of alms in expiation of sin. The celebrated Alla Baco carried her feeling on the subject, according to Sir John Malcolm, to such lengths, that she not only had alms dispensed daily in several parts of the Holkar territories, but she had water-stations by the road side for thirsty travellers, and serais or resting places for them; and her benevolence extended even to the birds of the air, in providing fields of grain to be left standing for the flocks which the farmer chased from his own holdings. This consideration for animal life is not confined to the feathered tribes, for all who have been in India must have witnessed the Nandi or free bull, commonly called the Bralmany bull, perambulating the streets of towns, being allowed to thrust his muzzle into the grain baskets of the dealers, almost unresistingly, and when driven off, rather by vociferous menaces than by blows.

A Parsee of Bombay, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., has established a world-wide fame from having spent more than a quarter of a million of money from his private fortune, in founding hospitals, dispensaries, supplies of water, poor asylums, marriage dowries, schools, &c.; in short there has not been a work for the public benefit in his time to which he has not, in Western India, been a contributor with a lavish hand,—as an instance, in 1846, with a dash of his pen, he subscribed 50,000 rupees to the Bombay District Benevolent Society. But this charitable sentiment is not confined to enthusiasts here and there, nor to certain localities, for there are few districts in India, where works for the public benefit are not annually, nay monthly and weekly, executed from private means. While in office, at the India House, I kept a diary, and from that I will give a few illustrative cases taken at random; the cases having been officially communicated to the Court of Directors by the several Governments of India.

In Saugor, Jubbulpoor, forty-four wells for public use were constructed at the private expense of individuals in 1846, at a total cost of 7,476 rupees; some wells costing 500 rupees each.

In despatch of 1st March, 1849, it is reported that in Juloun, the people of the town of Morley subscribed 8,966 rupees for a tank, Government adding 3,295 rupees.

In reply to Madras despatch, 9th September, 1843, it is recorded that the Deputy Sheristadar of Tinnevely gives 100 rupees monthly, to have an English schoolmaster for the school at Tinnevely.

In Bengal judicial despatch of 21st September, 1841, a native lady gives 10,000 rupees for the restoration of a road from Berhampoor to Darjeling.

In North-West Provinces despatch of July, 1844, Pundit Rams-wany obtains permission to buy plots of land between the Nerbuddah and the Himalayas to build Durumsalas for travellers.

In Madras revenue despatch of January, 1846, it is recorded that Appaswaney Naik, of Tinnevely, built two Choultries for travellers, one for Brahmans and Hindús, and the other for Europeans, at a cost of 20,000 rupees and *endowed* them.

In Bombay political despatch of February, 1846, the Rao of Cutch subscribes 4,000 rupees per annum, to a marriage portion fund, to a similar sum given by the British Government for the daughters of the poorer Jahrejah Rajpoots in Cutch, to prevent female infanticide.

In India political despatch, 1847, Rajah Sutee Churn Gosa presents 10,000 rupees to the Fever Hospital at Calcutta.

In a Punjab despatch of 1854, I found that some of the charitable institutions dated 600 years back.

In India public despatch answered 7th July, 1846, Set Churn Ghosal presents 5,000 rupees for founding a scholarship in the Benares College. In the same despatch the schools and college at Lahore, in Bopal, are said to be supported by the native gentry. A very curious case occurs (India political despatch) in reply to 2nd June, 1846, of a subscription to pay off a State debt in the principality of Jyepoor. *The Council of Regency give up their stipends, 70,000 rupees per annum until the debt be paid, and the Ranees give up villages to the value of 105,000 rupees per annum for the same purpose!* The Thackoors and Bankers also subscribe for the supply of water to Jyepoor. It would be a novel feature to have our Cabinet Ministers sacrificing their salaries on the altar of their country.

In Bengal judicial despatch, in reply to one of the 10th February, 1847, Baboo Kali Persaud, of Jessore, offers 9,000 rupees, or 400*l.*, annually, to expedite a public work.

In India public despatch, 2nd December, 1846, Raja Sait Chund Ghosaul and his family, of Benares, give 1,15,300 rupees (11,530*l.*) for educational and charitable purposes to Government.

In Bombay public despatch, in reply to last half of 1845, 24th September, 1847, the inhabitants of Mahar, in the Tannah Collectorate, contributed 2,000 rupees towards the clearing out a tank.

In Madras public despatch, in reply to letter 1846, Scoloo Chenum Moodelacr erects a bridge at his own expense over the river Tam-brepoorney.

In India public despatch, in reply to second half of 1846, 22nd November, 1847, Baboo Kali Persad, of Jessore, constructed various

works of public utility at his own expense, for which an honorary distinction was conferred upon him of a dress, with the title of Roy.

In India judicial despatch, October, 1845, seventeen private individuals, in the year 1842, in the Delhi Division, lay out 9,870 rupees in wells, travellers' bungalows, and tanks for the use of the public. In Meerut, four persons give 8,500 rupees; in Kumaon, three persons 3,400 rupees; Agra, four persons 4,000 rupees; Allahabad, 15 works cost 6,626 rupees; Benares, bridges, wells, tanks (51 works), cost 22,994 rupees;—all at private expense.

In the Patna Division alone, in 1854, the public works executed by private individuals cost 77,134 rupees; in 1855, 68,402 rupees; and in Arracan, 28,712 rupees.

In Bhaugulpoor, Nuddia, Cuttack, Assam, in short in ten provinces of Bengal, hundreds of instances of individuals are recorded who have contributed from their private means for works of public utility.

Sir Jamsetjee has his rival in benevolence in Bombay, for in October, 1857, David Jessoon, a native Jow, gave 30,000 rupees and a house to found an Industrial Institution.

I could multiply these instances a hundred fold, nay a thousand fold, for they are of weekly occurrence all over India, establishing traits of Indian character which put it on a level with Western European nations for public spirit and charitable sentiment.

#### PROVISION FOR PARENTS AND RELATIVES.

In 1796-7, a force was sent to Hyderabad from Bengal, and the men made extensive arrangements for leaving part of their pay with their wives and families; but Captain Williams says:—"It is further due to their exemplary character and conduct to state, that it is not to their wives and children only that they make such appropriation of a large part of their income; in regard to them it can only be viewed as conforming to an indispensable obligation. But a large portion of the men who have no such ties, voluntarily and cheerfully contribute to the support of their aged parents, or other needy relations. Nay, Government has been obliged to interpose its authority for restricting the portion of pay which the men might assign to their families whilst on foreign service, in order to obviate the want and inconvenience to which they were otherwise liable to expose themselves in those situations. This practice continues in full activity to the present day with the three native armies of India.

## CEREMONIAL.

I should exhaust your time before I could exhaust my "Traits of Indian Character;" I will therefore conclude with a few words on ceremonial, and a droll anecdote.

Sir John Malcolm says:—"The Indians are, perhaps, the most ceremonious of all nations, and the rules of decorum are seldom infringed but when insult is intended. In visiting," Sir John says, "it is quite contrary to etiquette to converse on business on a first visit, and when they are merely those of ceremony certain subjects should be scrupulously avoided. No allusions to the females of the family, to matters of caste, and peculiar habits, should by any means be introduced; remarks on dress or on the good looks of any relative, present or absent, are rude; and to praise any jewels, horses, elephants, or equipage, in the presence of the owner, renders it incumbent upon him as a point of good breeding, instantly to prevent it; at the same time it is always understood that an equivalent in some other equally valuable or more precious article will be given in return. The Indians have a great dread of an envious eye which they think liable to bring calamity on the object; so that if a child or a horse be especially admired, it is apprehended some harm will happen to it."

Most of us know the liberality with which we bestow the contemptuous epithet of black fellow upon the natives.

General Briggs relates a remarkable anecdote of the caustic sarcasm with which Jamsetjee, the celebrated Bombay Parsee ship-builder of the dock yard, who had risen from the grade of a common ship carpenter to be master builder, acknowledged the epithet. He had completed, entirely by native labour, a frigate for the royal navy; she was ready for the launch, to which the governor, staff and naval officers were invited. During the preparations Jamsetjee walked round the vessel, viewing her with evident pride and complacency. He then went on board, and having gone quietly into the hold, he caused to be engraved upon the keelson:—"This ship was built by a damned black fellow, A.D. 1800." He said nothing about it at the time, but some years afterwards when the ship came into dock, he pointed out the inscription, and the reproof it involved.

## CONCLUSION.

I could necessarily give multitudinous traits of hypocrisy, untruthfulness, servility, avarice, ingratitude, corruption, immorality, treachery, infanticide, murder, and robbery; fully counterbalancing,

if not neutralizing or outweighing all the praiseworthy traits of Indian character which I have enumerated; but my desire is, considering the lamentable occurrences since May, 1857, and which have necessarily exasperated the feelings of Englishmen against the people of India generally for the crimes of a portion of them only, and which crimes have obliterated from the mind, or cast into the shade those admirable qualities which have often been exhibited, and which, undoubtedly still exist, though latent,—I repeat that my desire and hope is, that by recalling to memory some of the bright features of the past, our kindlier feelings may be revived, our distrust gradually relaxed, and our hope for the future strengthened.

Sir John Malcolm says:—"I consider, and the opinion is the result of both experience and reflection, that all danger to our power in India is slight in comparison with that which is likely to ensue from our too zealous efforts to change the condition of its inhabitants, with whom we are as yet but imperfectly acquainted. A person who entertains such sentiments as I do upon this question must appear the advocate of very slow reform; but if I am so, it is from a full conviction that anything like precipitation in our endeavours at improvement is likely to terminate in casting back those we desire to advance; on the contrary, if, instead of over marching, we are content to go along with this immense population, and to be in good temper with their prejudices, their religion, and usages, we may gradually win them to better ways of thinking and of acting. The latter process, no doubt, must be one of great time, but its success will be retarded by every hasty step."—*Sir John Malcolm's Instructions to his Assistants.*

The wisdom of these opinions cannot be too earnestly impressed upon our rulers of the present day. We have been taught a bloody and fatal lesson by losing sight of them; may we profit by the past, and may the commonsense view be taken for the future, that the rule of a handful of Europeans over the millions of India can only be permanently maintained, not by any amount of physical force that England could exhibit, but by winning the respect and good-will of the people.

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## APPENDIX.

## CHARACTER OF THE HINDUS BY WARREN HASTINGS.

Great pains have been taken to inculcate into the public mind the opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unrestrained commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature. I affirm by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue and wholly unfounded. In speaking of the people it is necessary to distinguish the Hindus, who form the great portion of the population from the Mahomedans, who are intermixed with them, but generally live in separate communities; the former are gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shewn to them, than provoked to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people on the face of the earth; they are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority; they are superstitious it is true, but they do not think it ill of us for not thinking as they do. Gross as their modes of worship are, the precepts of their religion are wonderfully fitted to promote the best ends of society,—its peace and good order.—*Evidence before the House of Commons.*

## CHARACTER OF THE BENGAL SEPOYS.

The Bengal Native Infantry have been long noticed for their good conduct and gallantry in the field, and some of the battalions have upon all occasions distinguished themselves in a particular manner.

Before 1757, there were only one company of European Artillery, four or five companies European Infantry, with a few hundred natives, armed after the manner of the country,

The foundation of the Bengal Infantry was laid in the companies of the Madras Sepoys, who went with Clive and Major Kilpatrick from Madras in 1757.

Each battalion had one captain, one ensign, a serjeant-major, and a few serjeants, and a native commandant, about 900 of all ranks.

In 1764, there were eighteen regiments, and they ranked according to the date of their respective Captain's Commission: two celebrated names, Goddard and Dow were the youngest of the captains.

In 1773, each regiment had three lieutenants and three ensigns,



and the tom-toms were taken away and drums and fifes given; from this period the European officers were gradually increased in number until their present strength was attained.

The sepoy frequently gave their aid in putting down the mutiny of their comrades.

The 2nd battalion, under Captain Bradley, disarmed the 15th battalion in mutiny at Midnapore in 1795.

While the 10th Regiment, in 1772, was on parade, a sepoy shot Captain Ewens, the regiment broke and rushed upon the murderer, but Captain Carnae ordered them to fall in again, ordered down his own battalion 24th, had a drum-head court-martial; the murderer was sentenced to be drawn asunder by ponies; but these failing, the sepoy were allowed to put him to death with their swords.

General Clavering, in 1775-6, expressed his wonder at the discipline of the sepoy regiments, and that he found them in no respect inferior to any regiment in the King's service (page 182)<sup>1</sup>

1778.—Six battalions marched across India to Guzarat.

The 15th Battalion (Matthews) encountered the French before Masulipatan in 1758, and in 1759 it attacked, defeated, and took prisoners the Dutch troops smuggled into Bengal by the Nawab Meer Jaffier.

In 1763, in the battle of Gheria, near Sooty, where the European regiment was broken by a sudden attack of the enemy's cavalry, the 15th, with the Royal 84th attacked the enemy, and gained a complete victory.

In 1764, the whole army, Europeans, chiefly French and Germans, and natives, when employed against Sujah Dowlah, mutinied, and marched to join him, unless a long-promised donation was paid. The sepoy, by the persuasion of their officers, whom they highly respected, came back to camp.

In 1784, the 15th, then the 4th, was disbanded for mutiny.

In 1781, the 19th was disbanded, the men mutinying, owing to the misconduct of Major Grant about booty, and he was cashiered.

In 1795, the 24th refused to embark for Malacca; were fired upon by Major-General C. Erskine, and dispersed.

1810.—Five battalions of volunteers went to Java, and their conduct was described as "having by their steadiness and gallantry in action, and by their discipline and good conduct in all situations, excited general admiration and esteem."

While in Java they were frequently opposed to European troops. One regiment returned in 1815, but the others, contrary to the expect-

<sup>1</sup> Williams' Bengal Army.

tations held out to them, were detained from their homes and families for nearly five years.

1815.—In the Nepal war, the Bengal sepoy is thus spoken of : —“ We cannot sufficiently admire the Bengal sepoy ; such gallantry, submission, temperance, and fidelity, were perhaps never combined in any soldiers.”

The officer who continued Williams's Narrative down to 1815, concludes his labours with the following words—“ The writer of this brief continuation cannot take leave of the subject without many pangs of regret, heightened by the apprehension that it may never again be his good fortune to serve with troops, who are endeared to him by a companionship of service and professional exertions during a period of more than thirty years, to whom he is proud to offer the tribute of his grateful attachment and affection ; and of whom he can conscientiously declare his conviction, adopting the words of Mr. Hastings, ‘ under the most solemn appeal of religion,’ that with treatment of the most simple and practicable tenor, the characteristic qualities of gratitude, attachment, fidelity, cheerful obedience and respectful deportment of the native soldiers of Bengal, must ever reflect lustre on their moral and military virtues, and may be justly held forth as a theme of emulation and praise to all mankind. Comrades of my early youth and of the best portion of life, which has been cherished and rewarded, through the medium of your meritorious conduct ! Farewell.”

General Nott, August 8th, 1842, wrote to General England—“ With regard to Europeans, I would just as soon go into action with sepoy,” and again he wrote—“ The zealous and cheerful manner in which the sepoy has conveyed the battery train during a march of 300 miles of the most difficult country in the world is beyond all praise, and has called forth the admiration of their European officers, and European artillerymen attached to the battery ; their patience under fatigue and privations deserve my warmest thanks, and their active and anxious zeal to hasten the march and encounter the enemy, have confirmed me in the conviction, that they are, when they perceive that confidence is placed in them, fully equal to any troops in the world.”

Sir Charles Napier, says of them—“ Under my command, at various times for ten years, in action and out of action, the Bengal sepoy never failed in zeal, courage, or activity.”

A recent instance of marked fidelity occurred in the case of the 1st Bombay Lancer Cavalry, which charged the mutinous brigade of Bengal sepoy with guns at Nusseerabad, in Rajpootana. The regiment was composed chiefly of the same class of men as the Bengal

regiments, and from the same localities in Oude, and it is possible they may have operated hostilely against relatives and friends; the regiment, therefore, deserves the more credit for its conduct under such trying circumstances. The following are the official details relating to the event:

“ The Right Honourable the Governor in Council has the highest satisfaction in publishing, for the information of the army, the annexed report of the conduct of the 1st Regiment of Light Cavalry (Lancers), made by Captain Hardy on the occasion of a mutiny of the Bengal troops at the station of Nusseerabad on the 28th of May last.

“ This report has only recently been laid before Government by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the original despatch having miscarried on the road.

“ By a later report, the Governor in Council has learnt with regret that eleven men of the Lancers basely deserted their comrades and their standards, and joined the mutineers; but the Governor in Council will not suffer the disgrace of these unworthy members of the corps to sully the display of loyalty, discipline, and gallantry which the conduct of this fine regiment has eminently exhibited.

“ To mark the approbation with which he has received this report, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council will direct the immediate promotion to higher grades of such of the native officers and men as his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief may be pleased to name as having most distinguished themselves on this occasion, and thereby earned this special reward; and the Governor will take care that liberal compensation is awarded for the loss of property abandoned in the cantonment and subsequently destroyed, when the Lancers, in obedience to orders, marched out to protect the families of the European officers, leaving their own unguarded in cantonment.

“ ‘ To the Officiating Major of Brigade, Rajpootana, Field Force.

“ ‘ Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the Brigadier commanding the Rajpootana Field Force, the part taken by the 1st Lancers, in the late sad proceedings at Nusseerabad. At about half-past 3, P.M., on the 28th instant, the alarm was given that the 15th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry was in open mutiny, and had seized the guns. In common with the other officers, I was almost immediately down in my troop lines. In a few minutes the whole regiment was under arms, mounted, and formed up in open column of troops. The column was put into a gallop, and proceeded to the lines of the artillery, when the guns were immediately opened upon us. The order was given at once to charge and take the guns, troops

charging in succession. Being 'left' in 'front,' the 6th troop, under Captain Spottiswoode, led ; that officer fell at the head of his troop, after getting into the battery. A succession of charges followed; the officers, of course, leading the way. Not succeeding, as hoped for, in retaking the guns, Colonel Penny ordered the attacks to cease, and the regiment was marched back and formed in rear of our men's lines, to protect them and be ready to act on the mutineers if they came out of their lines into the plain. While there, about 5 o'clock, the whole of the 15th officers joined us, having been fired at by their men. The 30th Regiment would not obey their officers, and it was decided to move out of camp with the ladies and children while light remained. Colonel Penny being taken ill, it devolved upon me to execute the order for immediate retreat on Ajmeer. Subsequently the direction was changed for this place (Beawur), where we arrived yesterday morning. Half-way, the regiment halted till daylight for rest, and to let stragglers come up ; and here Colonel Penny was brought a corpse, having died on the road. A volunteer party of three men and a havildar was sent back to reconnoitre and bring an account of the further proceedings of the mutineers in cantonments ; and a party, under a native officer, was left on the halting-ground with orders how to act in case of emergency, and to stay till rejoined by the party reconnoitring.

“ ‘This near detachment reached the regiment at 8 o'clock yesterday evening. The result of the reconnaissance, which duty was performed in the most creditable manner, has already been laid before the Brigadier in person. In addition to Colonel Penny, deceased, apparently from over exertion, and Captain Spottiswoode, shot, as before stated, under the guns, Cornet Newberry, a promising young officer, was also shot in the act of charging, and Lieutenant and Adjutant F. Lock and myself are wounded, but doing well. At present I only know for certain of one of our men badly wounded, and three horses shot. Cornet Jenkins had his charger shot under him, and Lieutenant Stephens's charger is badly wounded. The loss of the mutineers I have been unable to ascertain at present. I make out to be missing 66 men, exclusive of the guards and sick left behind, but I hope the greater number of these will be speedily accounted for. In concluding this report, I would beg the Brigadier's kind offices in recommending the regiment under my command to the generous consideration of Government. Cantoned with two mutinous regiments, the regiment has, as the Brigadier knows, been nightly on duty for a fortnight past, and entirely responsible for the safety of the cantonment. They have been constantly tempted and assailed with abuse, with no other result

than telling their officers. They turned out in the promptest way to attack the mutineers, and they marched out of camp when ordered, as they stood, leaving their families and everything they had in the world behind them. They are now without tents, in a hot plain, and without any possibility of being comfortable ; but up to this time all has been most cheerfully borne, and all duty correctly performed. I am fearful as to the propriety of mentioning the losses of the European officers, but I cannot refrain from bringing to the notice of my superiors the grateful sense I have of the efficient and kind aid that the officers have afforded me at this trying time. Their active services during the mutiny have already been recognized by the Brigadier's approbation.

“ ‘ I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ ‘ E. A. HARDY,

“ ‘ Commanding 1st Lancers.

“ ‘ Camp, near Beawur, May 30.’

“ The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to direct that the G. O. No. 627, of the 1st of July, with the letter from Captain Hardy thereto subjoined, shall be carefully translated into Hindustani and Mahratta by interpreters of regiments, and read and explained to the whole of the native troops of the Bombay army, at a special parade to be ordered for that purpose.”

#### REARMING A NATIVE REGIMENT.

The following address was delivered at Jullunder, on Monday, the 17th January, 1859, to the 33rd Regiment Native Infantry, on the occasion of their being re-armed. Major Lake delivered the address in very good language, on behalf of Brigadier Milman, who could not, of course, do it himself, having only just arrived from England, and not yet “ passed in the vernacular.” The address is manly and straightforward.—

“ Native Officers and Sepoys of the 33rd !—On the part of Brigadier Milman, I congratulate you and your Colonel that the day has come in which the Government has recognized your fidelity and devotion. When General Nicholson took away your arms, he promised you that they should be restored if you behaved well. Knowing all that has happened since that day, I can testify that in every respect you have proved true to your salt. I therefore rejoice that the day has come in which General Nicholson's promise has been fulfilled. You should remember at all times how much you have to thank the Government for. What other Government pays its soldiers month by month,

pensions them when they are worn out, and takes care of them when they are sick, as the British Government does for you? You have been from Juggernath to Cabul, and you know as well as I do that no other Government does this for its soldiers. I am glad you have not lost such a service, and that you have not allowed yourselves to be deceived by those who have brought ruin and misery upon Hindostan; I mean those who spread a report that the British Government wished to break caste by giving you greased cartridges. This is utterly false. A man does not become a Christian by handling a greased cartridge. Christianity is not in eating, in drinking, in wearing clothes, or in handling greased cartridges, but it is in the mind. Only he who with his mind acknowledges Christianity, can become a Christian, and he whose mind denies Christianity can never become a Christian. It is quite impossible that by a greased cartridge or by any other artifice attempts should be made to break your caste. A soldier without arms is like a scabbard without a sword; this reproach is now removed, and as medals are given to soldiers in token of bravery, so the restoration of arms will be to you a mark of your fidelity, that you remained loyal when so many others proved traitors. The Brigadier, myself, and all of us, have full confidence that the bravery displayed by this regiment at Bhurtpore, in Cabul, at Ferozeshahur and Subraon, will be always shown against all traitors, and against the enemies of the British Government."

The troops were drawn up in quarter-distance columns. Right Artillery, 1st Irregular Cavalry, Her Majesty's 87th, 33rd, 12th Punjab Infantry, the 33rd formed a hollow square. After the address, the Brigadier inspected the line, and the troops marched past in column. The Artillery and Cavalry afterwards trotted and galloped past, and the re-arming was *un fait accompli*.—*Lahore Chronicle*, February 2.

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